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WEDNESDAY, JULY 28, 1790.

[WHOLE No. 135.]

DISCOURSES ON DAVILA.—No. XVI.

Opposant, sans relâche, et ec trop de prudence,
Les Guises aux Condés, et la France à la France.
Toujours prête à s'unir avec ses ennemis
Et changeant d'intérêt, de viraux, et d'amis.

THE rivalry, between the houses of Guise and Montmorency, or in other words, the ambition of the Cardinal de Lorraine, and the Duke of Guise, to outstrip the Montmorency's, produced a war. Charles the Vth. was preparing with a numerous army to lay siege to Metz. It was not doubted that the conduct of so important a war, would be committed to one of the two favorites. But the Constable Montmorency, more than sixty years of age, preferred a residence near the person of the King, to a risk of his reputation, in new dangers. The Duke of Guise, on the contrary, full of courage, and burning with ardor to distinguish himself, solicited the command, with the more vivacity, as he saw no other resource than in military successes, to efface the credit, and eclipse the glory of the Constable. He was therefore charged with the defence of Metz, with the consent, or at least, without the opposition of the Constable, who, internally, was not displeased to see his competitor, expose his life, or his reputation to danger. The Duke fulfilled perfectly, the idea, which had been conceived of his valor and prudence—uncertain as the success of the enterprise had been, he came out of it victorious, and covered with glory. This great action did him so much honor with the King, and the whole nation, that they committed to him, in preference of all others, the command of the army, which they sent afterwards to Italy, to reconquer the kingdom of Naples. Either by the fault of the French, or the inconstancy of their allies, this expedition failed, or, at least produced little advantage: Yet the ill success was not imputed to the Duke, who drew from it more glory than he could have done from a victory.—For this reason: Philip the second King of Spain, upon the abdication of his father, Charles the Vth. turned his arms against the frontiers of France, and entered through Flanders into Picardie, to make a diversion from the war in Italy. The Constable as Governor of that Province, was then obliged to take leave of the King, and, against his inclination, run the hazards of war. The loss of the battle of Saint-Quentin, where the Spaniards took him prisoner, spread a consternation through all the neighbouring provinces. The friends of the Guises in council, could discover no surer means of repelling this invasion of the enemy, of repairing the losses, and preventing the consequences of this defeat, than by recalling from Italy the Duke of Guise. The celerity of his return, added to the memorable conquests of Calais, Guisne, and Thionville, fully justified these hopes, and gave him that superiority over the Constable, that a Conqueror must ever have over one who is conquered.

The Constable, however, obtained his liberty, and returned to court. The King's affection for him was not abated. Henry, attributing his late misfortunes to the lot of arms, and the fortune of war, conversed familiarly with him, and, still convinced of his capacity, confided to him the weight of public affairs. In the critical circumstances of the State, the Duke and the Cardinal, who had acquired a great reputation, the one by his exploits, and the other by his abilities, apprehended that if they could not throw some powerful obstacle in the way of the Constable, he would rise higher in favor than ever. They resolved therefore to gain to their party, Diana, Dutches of Valentinois—to connect their interests with hers—and to make her protection and favor serve as a foundation of their elevation. And who was Diana? Of illustrious birth, descended from the ancient house of the Counts of Poitiers, in the flower of her age, she united with uncommon beauty, a sprightly wit, an acute and subtle understanding, the most insinuating graces of behavior, and all the other qualities which in a young woman, enchant the eyes and captive the heart. She had married the Senechal of Normandy, who soon left her a widow, with two daughters. She took advantage of her single state to deliver herself up to the pleasures and amusements of the Court. Her charms gained the heart of the King, whom she governed with an absolute empire. But she behaved with so much arrogance, and appropriated to herself the riches of the crown, with so much avidity, that she made herself odious and insupportable to the whole kingdom. The Queen,

full of indignation, to have a rival so powerful, behaved towards her with an exterior decency, but in her heart bore her an implacable hatred. The nobility, whom she had ill treated in the persons of several gentlemen, could not with patience, see themselves trampled under foot by the pride of a woman—and the people detested her avarice—to which they imputed the rigorous imposts, with which they were loaded.

The Guises, without regard to the general discontent—sensible only to the fear of losing their power, sought the friendship of the Dutches, who soon declared herself openly in their favor, and by marrying one of her daughters to the Duke of Anumale their brother, supported them with all her credit. The Constable easily unravelled the intrigues of the Guises, and, not depending on the marks of confidence which he received from the King, thought to fortify himself, equally, with the protection of Diana. If the Guises had flattered her, by the splendor of their birth, he did not despair to gain her to his interest, by satiating her avarice, a passion as ungovernable in her heart, as ambition. He began to make his court to her, and endeavored to gain her by considerable presents. He had so much at heart the success of his measures, that in spite of his natural pride, he did not hesitate to seek also her alliance by espousing to Henry Lord of Damville, his second son, Antoinette de la Mark, grand daughter by the mother, of the Dutches of Valentinois—a resolution so much the more imprudent, as Diana was already strictly united with the party of the Guises, and labor'd sincerely, with all her power, for their aggrandizement—whereas she favored but coldly the designs of the Constable. All the means which had been employed in opposition to the elevation of the Guises, became useless. To the merit of their services—to the intrigues by which they had continually advanced themselves—at the time, when they disputed with so much vivacity, with their rivals, for the first rank at the Court, was added, the marriage of Francis, the Dauphin of France, and the eldest son of the King, with the Princess Mary, sole heir of the kingdom of Scotland, daughter of James Stuart, lately deceased, by Mary of Lorraine, sister of the Duke and Cardinal. An alliance of so much magnificence, drew them near to the throne. There remained now, to the Constable and his family, only the friendly sentiments, which the King preserved for them by habit; and to the other courtiers, only the offices of smaller importance. The principal dignities, the fairest governments, and the general superintendance of affairs, civil and military, all were placed in the hands of the Guises and their creatures.

(To be continued.)

TRANSLATED

FOR THE GAZETTE OF THE UNITED STATES.

PARIS.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE COLONIES,

Presented to the National Assembly, in the name of the Committee appointed for that purpose, the 23d March, 1790.

By Mr. BARNAVE, Deputy from Dauphiny.

CONTINUED.

ADMITTING the ideas that have been detailed, and that the colonies are in a state of tranquility, well administered, and delivered from oppression, one thing still remains wanting.

They offer themselves to every body, by their riches, as an object of an active ambition, but want the population, and cannot procure within themselves the maritime and military forces necessary for their defence.

It is necessary then, that being united and identified with a great power, they may find by the disposition of its strength, the security of the blessings acquired by means of a good constitution, and good interior laws.

It is necessary that this power, interested in their preservation, by the advantages gained in its transactions with them, should consider it a duty to show the most constant equity towards them, that it should always present a sufficient force for their protection, and that by its industry: its productions and capital, it may be possessed of every means necessary to form the most advantageous commercial connections.

Here then is the whole of what is necessary for the political existence of the colonies, by securing the preservation of every interior advantage; this is what those should have pointed out

to them, who inspired them with a wish for a good constitution.

Were there persons thoughtless enough to dare to invite them to a separate political existence, to an absolute independence, we would ask them, laying aside faith, engagements, and every thing which great nations can employ to enforce them; we would ask them, what is then the secret of their hopes? Where are their forces to protect them? Would they take men from cultivation to make sailors and soldiers of them? would they oppose them with any hopes against the first powers in the world?

But, they will say, we will procure for ourselves alliances and guarantees. And do you think they will be disinterested? Though they may be for a while, do you think they would be so long? Do you not see that every protection would be the commencement of a new arbitrary government over you? We, with whom you are connected by so many duties and so many ties, can we not say to you, forgetting every thing else except your interests, behold our principles, regard our laws; choose whether you will be the free citizens of a free nation, or whether you will soon become the slaves of those who should now offer themselves as your allies.

And altho they should flatter themselves, that a dominion established on such foundations, may preserve for some time an appearance of justice, we would still ask them, where is the nation that can promise our colonies, more loyalty, more fraternal regard, than we now testify towards them?

Where is the nation that can display for their protection, greater or more solid strength than what we are disposed to do, after the crisis of our regeneration?

Where is the nation to whom nature has given greater means to carry on commerce with them? Which can produce and prepare within itself, more materials fit for their consumption? Which can make a greater use of theirs? Which possesses in fine, beyond us, every thing that can lead to that point, wherein a mutual exchange is attended with the greatest possible advantages.

They have not, it is true, hitherto drawn in their fullest extent, the advantages which these different considerations give reason to expect; but to what other cause was this owing, than the abuses which we have destroyed?

The administration of their government was oppressive? The answer is in our revolution, the answer is in the decrees and the instructions which we send to the colonies.

Our naval force has never attained the degree of preponderance which the extent of our means and our geographical position assigned it. But what more than us, had those to boast of, who with fewer men and less riches, have maintained themselves in the first rank among maritime powers? They had a constitution—they were free.

In short, the situation of our commerce did not present all the superiority of advantages which the whole of our resources warrant, as soon as they shall be developed.

But are they ignorant, that hitherto the genius of the French nation has alone struggled against all these institutions, all these shackles, all these prejudices?

Are they ignorant that an unaccountable opinion, ranked almost every other profession above commerce, agriculture and productive industry, and thus destroyed in a nation, fond of respect and glory, the gem which gives birth to every kind of perfection?

Are they ignorant, that people hitherto with us, betook themselves to commerce, in hopes of soon enriching themselves, and that they quit it as soon as they had acquired sufficient fortune to prosecute it on such an extensive scale, as would be like advantageous to themselves and those with whom they transacted business.

Are they ignorant that the capitals, which ought to have promoted useful industry, were absorbed by a borrowing government, and the crowd of stockjobbers with which it was surrounded?

Are they ignorant that the profits which this government was obliged to offer in return for the want of confidence, and those of the infamous traffic which was supported by its profusions, kept up in France the interest of money to a price that was alone sufficient to restrain below mediocrity, all the branches of our industry, and to change every proportion of our competition with other people?